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LITTELL
COLLECTION

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ON THE HISTORIA AUGUSTA.

Hadr. 4 :

Saepe fuisse.

Read *inisse* : so lire for *inire* in MS. *D'Orv.* x. i. 5. 11 of *Hor.* C. iii. 3. 34.

Hadr. 8 :

saepe dixit ita se rem publicam gesturum ut fsciret populi rem esse non propriam.

If *sciret* is retained, the nom. must be *res publica*. More probably it is a mistake for *scirent* : sc. 'qui in contione et in senatu erant.'

25 :

The verses *Animula uagula blandula* were known to Petrarch, who (p. 684, ed. Bas. 1581) speaks of them thus : *Quam deditum musis Hadrianum credimus, cuius intentio tam uehemens fuit ut ne uicina quidem morte lentesceret. Prorsus mirum dictu, sub extremum uitae spiritum de animae discessu uersiculos edidit, quos insererem nisi quia uel tibi uel tuorum alicui notos esse confido.*

Ael. Ver. 5 :

Atque idem Ouidii ab aliis relata idem Apicii libros amorum in lecto(s) semper habuisse.

The words *ab aliis relata* '*idem Apicii*' seem to be a marginal note which has found its way into the text of

the biography. Others have recorded the words 'idem Apicii,' i.e. instead of *idem Ouidii*: *relata* refers to the two words. Read therefore *Atque idem Ouidii libros amorum in lecto semper habuisse.*

Ant. Pii. 3:

Capitolinus, in recording a number of prodigies which occurred to presage the coming greatness of Antoninus, affects a repetition of *eius*. Six prodigies are mentioned; in the second of these, the fourth, the sixth, *eius* recurs: *Cyzici . . . ad statuam eius corona translata est . . . fulgur sine noxa in domum eius uenit . . . statuas eius . . . examen apium repleuit.* Then follow without any break the words:

Et somnio saepe monitus †sed penitus eius† Hadriani simulacrum inserere.

For the obelized words Casaubon suggested *est penatibus suis*; Salmasius, *se d(is) penatibus suis*. Possibly we might defend *eius* as a designed repetition of the same word introduced three times before, and intended in each case to bring the personality of Antoninus into more marked prominence, *et somnio saepe monitus est penatibus eius Hadriani simulacrum inserere*: "he was repeatedly advised by a dream to introduce the image of Hadrian among the ancestors of the other, i.e. Antoninus."

Antonin. Philos. 6:

Post excessum Hadriani statim Pius per uxorem suam Marcum sciscitatus est et eum dissolutis sponsalibus quae cum L. Ceionii Commodi desponderi uoluerat impari adhuc aetati, habita deliberatione uelle se dixit.

Some words have been lost after *Commodi*, but the general meaning is clear. Antoninus Pius, seeing that

Verus (here called L. Ceionius Commodus) was too young to be a proper match for his daughter Faustina, broke off the espousals, and told M. Aurelius he wished *him* to be his son-in-law instead. I offer tentatively the following restoration of the words: *et eum, dissolutis sponsalibus L. Ceionii Commodi quae cum [filia fecerat, quam ei] desponderi uoluerat, impari adhuc aetati, habita deliberatione uelle se dixit.*

Then *eum uelle se* = *eum generum se uelle*; *aetati*, 'an age,' *i.e.* 'as a man of an age,' is in apposition with *ei*, sc. L. Ceionio Commодо.

Antonin. Philos. 11 :

Hispanis exhaustis Italica adlectione contra Traianique praecepta uerecunde consuluit.

Perhaps *Traiani quoque*: he would naturally be unwilling to act against any ruling of Trajan's.

Ver. 4 :

Lucius quidem Marco uicem reddens †si susciperet obsecutus ut legatus proconsuli uel praeses imperatori.

Possibly *sic suscipere obsecutus ut l. p.* "Obeyed him in undertaking (the imperial office) on the terms of a legate obeying his proconsul," *i.e.* only as a subordinate, not an equal.

Auid. Cass. 8 :

Antoninus, in an enumeration of the Roman emperors who had come to a well-merited death, mentions by name Nero, Caligula, Otho, Vitellius. Then the historian adds :—

nam de †Pertinace et Galba† paria sentiebat, cum diceret in imperatore auaritiam esse acerbissimum malum.

This may be a corruption of *Serui Galbae nece*.

Ibid. 10 :

†Signitas mihi litteras Calpurnius dedit.

Signitas is in the two best MSS., B (Bambergensis) and P (Palatinus). It may be a different word from *signatas*, with a different sense, not 'sealed,' but 'in cipher.'

Commod. 2 :

mulierculas formae scitioris . . . †perficium (so B, and P m. pr.) lupanarium et (lu)dibrium pudicitiae contraxit.

Turnebus conj. *per speciem* : it might be *per effigiem*, 'to present the appearance.' Cic. ad Q. Fr. i. 1. 8. 23 *Cyrus ille a Xenophonte non ad historiae fidem scriptus sed ad effigiem iusti imperii.*

5 :

puberibus exoletis quos aequae ex plebe ac nobilitate †nieptusque forma disceptatrice collegerat.

May we read ἀμέμπτουςque, 'and of faultless look'?

11 :

Genera leguminum coctorum ad conuiuium propter luxuriae continuationem †raro uocauit.

Rather *non raro*. Commodus, to lengthen out his pleasures, called in the aid of special legumes, and this frequently. These pleasures were not merely those of dining. From other passages of the *Hist. Aug.* we know that venery was a not uncommon interlude of banquets. Some of the legumes, we may believe, were of a stimulating and aphrodisiacal kind.

14 :

Vendidit etiam suppliciorum diuersitates et sepulturas et inminutiones malorum et alios pro aliis occidit.

Much controversy exists as to the meaning of *inminutiones malorum*. If genuine, it would seem to be 'lessenings of punishment'; *i.e.* Commodus allowed many condemned to a severe punishment to buy off some portion of its severity. Götz, Thes. Gloss. *inminutio minoratio*. But *malorum* may be an error; perhaps for *membrorum*, 'losses of limb.' Such maimings or mutilations are frequently mentioned in *Hist. Aug.*

Pertin. 3 :

tabernam coactiliariam.

Götz, Thes. Gloss. *coactiliarius*, *πλοποιός*. *quactiliarius*, and *quactiliarius* seem to be variants of the same word.

4 :

et ipsi Commodo plurimum placuit, quia illi esset iterum cum Pertinax factus est (es P).

Perhaps, if there is no chronological objection, *quia consulatus illi esset iterum*, 'because Commodus was in his second consulship at the time when Pertinax was appointed urban praefect.'

8 :

uasaque eludo (?) auro ebore argento citroque composita atque etiam †phandouitrobuli ex materie eadem.

I suggest *elephantouitrunculi*, 'chessmen' (or, 'counters') of ivory and glass. The *latrunculus* (or *trunculus*, as it might easily be abbreviated) was frequently of ivory. Suet. Ner. 22, Juv. xi. 132, Anth. L. 196. 8 (Riese), speaking

of ivory, *Consulibus sceptrum, mensis decus, arma tablistis, Discolor et tabulae calculus inde datur*. Wernsdorf, P.L.M. iv. 409, says 'elephant' is a name in chess given to pieces which move in a direct line.

10:

quod quidem credidit dum sibi quidam seruus quasi fauiae †setiqui filius† ex ceioni commodi familia palatinam domum ridicule uindicasset.

Possibly cum (Peter) *sibi quidam seruus quasi Fabiae* esset inquilinus, 'as a slave, pretending to be a lodger of Fabia's, belonging to the household of Ceionius Commodus, had raised an absurd claim to the house of the princeps on the Palatine.'

Fabia was the sister of L. Verus, joint emperor with M. Aurelius; his full name, as the son of L. Ceionius Commodus, being Lucius Ceionius Aelius Commodus Verus Antoninus (Capitol. Vit. Veri 1.). A gloss in Götz, Thes. Gloss., illustrates my view: *inquilinus domesticus*, and justifies the genitive *Fabiae* after *inquilinus*.

12:

cum sine amicis cenaret adhibebat uxorem suam et Valerianum †qui cum eodem docuerat† fabulas litteratas haberet.

A very corrupt passage, not cleared up by Salmasius' insertion of *ut* before *qui*. That *ut*, however, has fallen out is probable, but in a different part of the sentence, perhaps as follows: *qui eum docuerat, cum eodem ut fabulas litteratas haberet*, 'in order that he might discourse on literature with the same man who had formerly been his instructor.'

Severus 2 :

quaesturam diligenter egit ~~†~~omnis sortibus natu militari.

O. Hirschfeld has most admirably restored this *omisso tribunatu militari*.

6 :

eodem tempore etiam de Clodio Albino sibi substituendo cogitavit, cui Caesarianum decretum ~~†~~aut Commodianum uidebatur imperium.

I read *haut*. Commodus had wished to confer on Albinus the title of Caesar, but he had not accepted it from dislike of Commodus, and fear of being involved in his downfall. But when the great and successful Severus contemplated the same step of making Albinus his successor and giving him the title of Caesar, Albinus was not likely to raise any objection, treating the offer as conferring upon him by decree (*decretum*) a real imperial title (*Caesarianum*), not a questionable claim such as alone a degraded and falling princeps like Commodus could give. This seems to agree with the words of the *contio* which Albinus addressed to his army when Severus asked him to take the title of Caesar: Vit. Albin. 2 *Commodum donantem me Caesariano nomine contempsit*; and he goes on to contrast his position, when considering Severus' offer, with the former and rejected offer of Commodus, *sed et uestrae uoluntati et Seueri Augusti parendum est, quia credo sub homine optimo et uiro forti posse bene rempublicam geri*.

The difficulty of the passage lies in the ambiguous use of the two adjectives in *-anus*, since *Caesarianum imperium* seems to mean the *imperium* of—i.e. implied by the title of—Caesar; *Commodianum*, the *imperium* conferred by Commodus.

cui, I think, refers to Albinus, and depends on *decretum*.

14: *figurata* seems to mean 'covert allusions.'

15:

cum soror sua Leptitana.

Notice *sua*, not *eius*, as any writer of classical Latin would have preferred.

16:

After Severus had taken Ctesiphon, and received the title of Parthicus for his victory over the Persian king, BP (the two best MSS. of *Hist. Aug.*) give

†ob etiam filium eius Bassianum Antoninum . . . participem imperii dixerunt milites.

It is usual to insert *hoc* after *ob*: but perhaps *obiter* = *simul*, 'at the same time,' was misunderstood and caused the mistake. Hand., *Turs.* IV. 364, quotes instances; and so in Götz, *Thes. Gloss.* *obiter* ὁμοίως ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ, and *id est simul*, on which last Götz quotes Juv. iii. 241, vi. 481.

20:

Et reputanti mihi, Diocletiane Auguste, neminem †facere prope magnorum uirorum optimum et utilem filium reliquisse satis claret.

facere seems to be not *fere* (Salm.) but *facile* (Jordan). *prope* qualifies *neminem*, and is out of its proper place. I would write *prope neminem facile*.

21 :

Sallustii orationem, qua Micipsa filios ad pacem hortatur, ingrauatus morbo misisse filio dicitur maiori idque frustra † et hominem tantum ualitudine.

tantum I suspect to be a corruption of *tactum*: some words seem to have fallen out, e.g. *idque frustra* [egisse, quamuis patrem et senem] *et hominem tactum ualitudine*: cf. 23 *senex et pedibus aeger*. The construction of *dicitur* would thus be changed from 'he is said' to 'it is said,' as conversely Albin. 3 *nec negari potest quod etiam Marius Maximus dicit hunc animum Seuero primum fuisse, ut substitueret: sed postea et filiis studens . . . et Albinus amoris inuidens sententiam mutasse*, sc. *dicitur*. Heliogab. 23 *Serpentes collegisse fertur eosque subito . . . effudisse, multosque adflictos morsu et fuga*.

23 :

Turbatam r. publicam ubique accepi, pacatam etiam Britannis relinquo.

The correspondence of clauses seems to demand [in] *Britannis*.

Pesc. Nig. 10 :

ut denorum gallinaceorum pretia prouinciali redderent decem qui simul furto †conuixerant.

Salmasius explained *conuixerant* as = συνευωχημένοι ἦσαν, "had dined together" on the single cock they had managed to steal. Is it not rather an error for *conixerant*, "had shut their eyes to the theft" which one of their number (*raptum ab uno comederant*) had been guilty of? Nettleship, *Contributions to Latin Lexicography*, p. 419, shows that *conixi* as well as *coniui* was used as

perfect of *coniuere*. The substantive *coniuentia*, 'connivance,' is found in the Life of Alex. Severus 54.

I believe a similar error to lurk in Seneca ad Polyb. ii. 2 *Fortuna, uidebaris eum hominem continuisse*, where I have suggested (J. of Philol. xxviii. 23) *eo in homine coniuisse*, 'Fortune, you seemed to have closed your eyes in dealing with him'; so long he remained unharmed.

12:

Amavit de principibus Augustum Vespasianum Titum Traianum Pium Marcum, reliquos feneos uel \dagger uenenatos uocans.

Perhaps *faeneos uel f(a)eneratos*. Götz, Thes. Gloss. *Faeneus* κατάχρεος; and, *pauper, sine fide*. Both words seem to mean much the same thing, men sunk in debt, and of no account for any substantial worth, 'of no solid consideration'; *faeneus* might naturally suggest besides 'men of straw.'

Clod. Albin. 2:

sane ut tibi insigne aliquod imperialis maiestatis \dagger accedam, habebis utendi coccini pallii facultatem.

accedam, the reading of both B and P, is generally changed to *accedat*. It is not quite certain to me that Commodus, from whose letter the passage is quoted, does not mean something more than this: 'that I may lend you extra support in the shape of a special imperial badge.' The writer of the Life might have in his mind the custom of *including* the images of Roman emperors in purchases or deeds of sale; cp. Tac. Ann. i. 73 *nec contra religiones fieri quod effigies eius ut alia numinum simulacra uenditionibus hortorum et domuum accedant*.

9 :

multi praeterea dicunt, a militibus (percussum), †cuius nece a Seuero gratiam requirebant.

Salm. changed *cuius* into *qui eius*. It is also possible that *cuius necis*, 'of which execution they looked for a recompense from Severus,' was the original draft. At least *nece*, 'by killing him,' seems unusual. One would expect [*ex*] *nece*.

11 :

uxori odiosissimus fuit, seruis (seruiis B) iniustus.

seruiis points to *seruitiis*, I think: it would be very unusual as a corruption of *seruis*.

13 :

nostrae illae gentes Ceioniorum Albinorum Postumiorum de quibus patres uestri qui et ipsi ab auis suis audierant †didicerunt.

dididerunt Obrecht; but the word is rare in this sense of 'spreading' a number of stories; *adiecerunt* Petschenig, *tradiderunt* Peter. Possibly *docuerunt*.

Geta 4 :

Fuit adulescens moribus asperis, sed non impiis, †anarbore tractator, gulosus cupidus ciborum et uini uarie conditi.

In *anarbore* I believe a deep corruption lies; *samardcorum*, 'cheats, impostors.' Acron on Hor. S. I. 6. 113 *aut fallacem Circum propter Circenses incerti euentus aut propter σαμάρδακον* [*Marda enim*] *qui circa metas solebat*

inducere, and on 114 diuinis] *aut sortilegis aut σαμαρδικοῖς* (so Hauthal; but the spelling must have been uniform). The word is used by Augustine, Acad. iii. 15 = *planus*, 'a cheat.' *planus erat de eis quos samardacos iam uulgus uocat*. Geta might be called *samardocorum tractator*, either as *sounding* such men as to the future, which they pretended to divine, or as expounding and interpreting their utterances.

Macrin. 4:

hominem prostibulem B and P originally; and Lindsay prints *prostibilem* in Plaut. Pers. 837. I think it should be retained here also.

5:

ob uestimenta populo †congiaria data.

Probably *congiario*.

11:

nam pius et felix poterat dicique uiderique,
imperium infelix est erit ille sibi.

The antithesis points to *imperio infelix est, erit ille sibi*: 'the man might be called and believed pious and fortunate: but in his rule he is, and will ever be, unfortunate to his own cause.' In the sentence immediately following, *delatis* would seem to be an error for *de Latii* rather than *de Latinis*: 'some one of the Latians,' i.e. who belonged to Italy, and spoke Latin. This adj. occurs elsewhere in *Hist. Aug.*

Diadum. 7:

ut scirent omnes Antoninos pluris fuisse quam deos †ac trium principum amore† quos sapientia bonitas pietas consecrata sit.

quos is retained by Jordan and Eyssenhardt, as if *consecrata sit* was a deponent, = *consecrauerit*. This seems

hazardous, unless an example is brought to support it; and it appears more probable that the *s* of *quos* is caused by the following *s* of *sapientia*, and that we should follow Peter in writing *quo*. But I am not convinced that *ac* is *ab* (so Peter, with Jordan and Eyssenhardt); it may be *hoc* on account of this aforesaid love of the three emperors, by which their wisdom, kindliness, and piety have received consecration.

Heliogab. 8 :

coegit denique scriptores nonnullos nefanda immo potius
‡mipace (inpace Harl. 2658) de eiusdem dictum luxuria disputare.

Perhaps *immo potius mythica de eiusdem uictu et luxuria d.*

12 :

ad uicensimam hereditatium mulionem curare iussit, iussit et cursorem, iussit et cocum et ‡claustrarium artificem.

plaustrarium would accord better with the others—the muleteer, the runner, the cook: cf Claud. 14, where a *carpentarius* is combined with a huntsman, a fisherman, and a confectioner. *Claustrarium*, I suppose, would mean a locksmith. This was a favourite employment of Louis XVI., but the tastes of Heliogabalus were more for *conveyances* of different kinds, as is mentioned later. I may perhaps record here a similar interchange of *p*, *c*, which Lütjohann's edition of Apuleius' *de deo Socratis* (1878) many years ago suggested to me: III. §§ 126 *homines ratione plaudentes, oratione pollentes*, where I read *claudentes* = *claudicantes*, 'halting.'

[*Claustrarius*, however, occurs in the Life of Alexander Severus, 24 *pellionum claustrariorum argentariorum* (so both B and P): on the other hand, *artifex carpentarius* is found in the same Life, 52.]

16 :

Nec distulit caedem consobrini, sed timens †setus ad aliquam† se inclinaret si ille consobrinum occidisset.

setus has long been corrected to *ne senatus* (I may observe that *ne* is omitted also in Harl. 2658), and *ad aliquam* to *aliquem* (Jordan), or *alium quem* (Peter), while Bährens thought *seditionem* had fallen out. May it not be more easily explained as *ad alium quam*, sc. ‘lest the senate should sway towards some other than himself (Heliogabalus)’?

16 :

Sed milites et maxime praetorianus uel scientes qui mala in Heliogabalum pararant uel quod sibi uiderent inuidiam factaque conspiratione ad liberandam rem publicam primum conscii genere mortis, cum alios uitalibus exemptis necarent alios ab ima parte perfoderent ut mors esset uitae consentiens. post hoc in eum impetus factus est.

Though this sentence is as deeply corrupt as many in Thucydides, the one point emerges with clearness, the contrast of *primum* with *post hoc*. I take this as my basis of emendation, and offer the following : (1) *facta* (inita)*que conspiratione* ; (2) *conscierunt* (‡ *consilia inierunt*) *de genere mortis* ; (3) *uitalibus* is Lampridius’ decorous *substitute* for *genitalibus* or *uirilibus*, and must not be altered. Translate : ‘The soldiers, and more particularly the Praetorians, either conscious, such of them as had plotted to punish Heliogabalus, or as seeing their act would reflect odiously upon themselves, if they planned and attempted a conspiracy to free the Roman State, in the first instance deliberated as to the kind of death, it being their habit to kill some by removing the genitals, and stab others in their lower limbs, thus to make their death consonant with their life of infamy. Next they made an attack upon him.’

17 :

appellatus est post mortem tiberinus et tractatitius et inpurus.

H has *tractatius*, an obvious corruption of *tractatitius*, not of *tractitius*, as Jordan and Eyssenhardt print.

23 :

ut solet populus ad ludos celebres uenire.

Rather *celebris*, 'in a crowd.'

24 :

quae saxa usque ad nostram memoriam manserunt sed nuper
†erudite (so B, eru//te//// P) ex(s)ecta sunt.

H has *eruta et*, which is generally printed as right. The *d*, however, of *erudite* points to *eruderata*.

25 :

iussit omnes (herniosos) notari eosque ad balneas suas exhibere.

H also has *notari*; but the right word is perhaps indicated by P's *nomari*, i.e., I suppose, *numerari*.

29 :

iunxit et quaternas mulieres pulcherrimas uel binas ad †pam-
pillum uel ternas et amplius et sic uectatus est.

pampillum BPH, *pimpillum* Bod. Canon. Lat. 269, an interpolated MS. I do not feel sure that the original was not *pilentum*, a rare word, sometimes assuming strange and perverted forms, e.g. *pelenium* (Götz, Thes. Gloss., p. 88). In *pampillum* of BPH it is possible that an ocular aberration to *amplius*, which follows almost immediately, may have been the cause of the strange shape the word has assumed. At any rate, *pilentum* was the particular

kind of vehicle which Heliogabalus would naturally select for harnessing women to carry him through the streets: Aen. viii. 666 *Pilentis matres in mollibus*, and Servius there.

Alex. Sever. 9:

Nuper certe patres conscripti meministis . . . qui gemitus omnium fuerit cum per populi et honestorum coronas una uox esset hunc *†inte* (so BPH) Antoninum dici, per hanc pestem *†tactum* uiolari nomen.

For *inte* write *sinitis*, a question; for *tactum*, not *intactum* (Bährens), nor *sanctum* (Salmasius), but, as most of the old editions, *tantum*: see my note above on Sev. 21 *hominem tactum ualitudine*, where MSS. give *tantum*.

15:

nec quemquam passus est esse in Palatinis necessarium hominem.

Before *necessarium* a negative has fallen out, either *non* (as H) or *nisi*, which Jord. and Eyss. state to be the second hand of P. H is not sufficiently trustworthy to make *non* more than possible; and Peter may be right in preferring *nisi*, which might have been dropped in consequence of the preceding *Palatinis*.

In the next sentence I see no necessity for changing *adscriptum* to *adscripticium*, which is palæographically unlikely: Casaubon's *malum puplicum* for *m. pupillum* of BPH is as certain as its antithesis to *bonum publicum*, and the peculiar fitness of such a term in describing an extortionate provincial governor, can make it.

18:

Si quis caput flexisset aut blandius aliquid dixisset ut adulator, uel *†abiciebatur*, uel ridebatur.

abigebatur would be more ordinary Latin; but *abiecit* in

23 *eunuchos de ministerio suo abiecit* is used similarly of dismissing anyone from his position.

28 :

eum (Alexandrum) pudebat Syrum dici, maxime quod quodam tempore frustra ut solent Antiochenses Aegyptii Alexandrini lacessitus erat conuiciolis et Syrum archisynagogum eum uocantes archiereum.

This is, I believe, an anacoluthon. *frustra* is an error for *frustra* (so H), 'idly,' 'aimlessly,' as explained by *conuiciolis*, the subject of the clause *ut solent Antiochenses* returning, in spite of the intermediate *lacessitus erat*, in the plural *uocantes*. There is, however, some doubt as to the arrangement of the last words, *et Syrum archisynagogum eum uocantes archiereum*: solved perhaps most simply by Peter's addition of *et* before *archiereum*; or should we admit a greater change, and write *et Syrum archisynagogum cum uocarent* [et] *archiereum*?

29 :

dehinc si hora permetteret actibus publicis post †multam operam dabat idcirco quod et res bellicae et res ciuiles per amicos tractabantur . . . et tractatae firmabantur.

For *multam* I think *militiam* should be written, Alexander taking matters of the war department *first*, and then the other business of state.

33 :

chlamydes hirtas Seueri et tunicas asemas, †et purpureaque non magna ad usum reuocauit suum.

H gives *et purpuraque*, which seems very near the true reading, *ex purpuraque*.

35 :

Oratores et poetas non sibi panegyricos dicentes, . . . sed aut orationes recitantes aut facta ueterum (uetert B¹) †quam netuli ueniter† audiuit.

Salmasius was, no doubt, right in eliciting *libenter* from *li ueniter*, but *canentes* for *quam netu* is very hazardous. Omitting *netu*, the explanation of which is doubtful, I suggest that *quam* represents *perquam*, 'very willingly.'

37 :

habuit quotidie et †mullis sine pipere sextarios quattuor, cum pipere duo.

H has *inullis*. Can this be *inulas*, 'elecampanes'? Pliny, xix. 91, not only mentions various uses, medical or alimentary, to which the herb was applied, but specifies *pepper* and thyme as combining with it to form a stomachic, and as made fashionable by its use as a daily food by Julia Augusta (perhaps daughter of Titus).

Like many other Roman jokes, the exact point of *non secundam mensam Alexandrum habere sed secundum* is obscure. He was very fond of fruits; and a variety of fruit-courses were served up to him. In this way he had, instead of one service of fruit, a regular series, *according to the season*, i.e. *non secundam mensam, sed secundum mensem*. The form *friga* 'cold water,' which BPH present, points to *frigda*, not *frigida*.

38 :

In the hendecasyllables beginning *Pulchrum quod uides esse nostrum regem | Quod Syrum detulit propago*, it seems likely that *Quod* is an error for *Quem* or *Quom*, and that after *Syrum* either *Syra* has fallen out or that *de* of *detulit* is a mistake for *-ae* of *Syriae*. The former is perhaps

easier. *detulit* would then mean 'has brought to us,' *de* giving its usual sense of bringing to a particular place or person: such an idea is implied in *nostrum*.

In the second hendecasyllabic passage containing Alexander's reply:—

Pulchrum quod putas esse uestrum regem
Vulgari, miserande, de fabella
Si uerum putas esse, non irascor.
Tantum †comedas uelim lepusclos
Vt fias animi malis repulsis
Pulchris ne inuideas liuore mentis—

it is usual to print *tu comedas*. I prefer *sic comedas: ut fias a. m. repulsis* = *ut mala ab animo repellas*. It seems impossible to understand *pulcher* after *fias*, even in such a vilely written retort as this is. Still, Alexander's own reply was in Greek, of which the Latin hendecasyllables are perhaps an inferior version.

41:

accipiebat ab amicis. quod hodieque fit, si praescatur (so P, praeratur B¹, praestatur B²) a praefectis absente imperatore.

If P's *praescatur* may be accepted as the nearest approach to the archetype, *aesca* may form part of the original words, whether *paratur esca* or *praestatur esca*.

aut †gacple paruolae sursum et deorsum uolitent.

So BP; H has *gacle*, with *glatte* written over. The constancy of *gc* in *gacple* or *gacle* makes Salmasius' *galbulae* or Bährens' *gaunae* improbable. Madvig's *auiculae* would never have assumed so strange a shape as *gacple*. Nearer than any of these is the bird called by Pliny, H.N. x. 73, 96, xxx. 94 *galgulus* or *gauculus*. In xxv. 94, the MS. variants *gagalgulum*, *galgulaim* seem to point to different spellings,

and perhaps pronunciations, of a not very common word. If I am right in this suggestion, the writer of the Life of Alexander Severus, Lampridius, if we may trust the MSS. of Hist. Aug., made the bird feminine, *galgula*, *ae*. The twelfth-century MS. of Pliny's Natural History, Auct. T. i. 27, gives the following results:—In x. 73, *garguli* twice (in heading and in the text); x. 96, in heading, *cauculo* m. pr. red, corrected in black into *gaugulo*; in the text, *gaugulos*.

43:

nundinia uetera serdine instituit.

So BPH, i.e. *n. uetera* sed ordine, not *uetera* ex ordine, as is usually printed.

45:

Alexander arranged everything on a march in advance till he came to the borders of the barbarian tribes he was attacking. Then

iam inde tacebatur, et omnes ambulabant, ne dispositionem Romanam barbari scirent.

This, if it means anything, may perhaps be a very rough way of stating that horses were kept as much as possible out of sight, for fear of their snorting or neighing being overheard, and attracting the attention of the enemy. Everybody who could walked on foot, the cavalry suppressing themselves as much as possible. Frontin. Strat. II. 5. 31 *in remotissimo equites ne fremitu eorum cogitata proderentur*. Alexander's Parthian expedition, as described in c. 50, illustrates the meaning: *non milites sed senatores transire diceret. Quacumque iter legiones faciebant tribuni taciti* (MS. *aciti*).

The sentence would, perhaps, be somewhat clearer by adding *sic* before *ambulabant*.

48 :

Ovinus Camillus, a man who aspired to be *princeps*, was treated by Alexander as actually such, admitted to the palace dressed in the costume of an emperor, and invited to share in the emperor's military duties. His strength not being up to it, Ovinus resigned this assumed *imperium*, and retired to his private villas unharmed, where he lived a long time securely. Then follow the words—

sed post iussu imperatoris occisus est quod et ille militaris esset, et a militibus occisus est.

This means, I think, that Maximinus, who followed Alexander as emperor, ordered Ovinus to be put to death, because it was only fair that, as he had shared the life and position of Alexander, so he should share his violent death by the hands of soldiers.

51 :

dici iubebat quod tibi fieri non uis alteri ne feceris.

Almost so Orientius' Common. I. 197, 8 *ne facias aliis quidquid fieri tibi non uis, Idque aliis facias quod tibi uis fieri.*

53 :

Quin †contionestis uocem in bello contra hostem, non contra imperatorem uestrum necessariam ?

contionestis is rather *continuistis* than *continetis*.

56 :

falcati currus mille †se.

mille cc, Hülsen ap. Peter : rather *mille c*.

65 :

cum ille diceret Domitianum pessimum fuisse, amicos autem bonos habuisse atque ideo illum magis odio fuisse †quae rem p. temporis uitae ille, quia melius est unum malum pati quam multos.

temporis I believe to be a corruption of *turpioris*; the sense points to something like *quia rem p. turpioris uitae* [hominibus] *ille* [mandauerit].

Domitian was a bad man, but had virtuous friends. If he had used their services, it would have been all well with the state, and he would have excited comparatively little odium; but he chose to employ bad men, and their counsels led him into a line of government which ended with universal disgust, and ultimately killed him.

Saturnin. 10 :

adde quod omnis aetas in imperio reprehenditur. senex est quispiam. inhabilis uidetur †additur his et furore.

The last words have been variously emended. The only emendation required is *furere* for *furore*. ‘Suppose anyone is an old man, he is thought unfit; what is more (*additur his*), he is thought to be mad as well.’ With *furere* supply *uideri*.

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